The readie and easie way to establish a free Commonwealth;

and the excellence therof compar'd with the inconveniencies and dangers of readmitting Kingship in this Nation.

The second edition revis'd and augmented.

The author J. M.

——————— *et nos consilium dedimus* Syl'æ, *demus populo nunc.*

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The readie and easie way to establish a free Commonwealth.

ALthough since the writing of this treatise, the face of things hath had som change, writs for new elections have bin recall'd, and the members at first chosen, readmi ted from exclusion, yet not a little rejoicing to hear decla r'd the resolution of those who are in power, tending to the establishment of a free Commonwealth, and to remove, if it be possible, this

noxious humor of returning to bondage, inſtilld of late by ſom deceivers, and nouriſhd from bad principles and fals apprehenſions among too many of the people, I thought beſt not to ſuppreſs what I had written, hoping that it may now be of much more uſe and concernment to be freely publiſhd, in the midſt of our Elections to a free Parlament, or their ſitting to conſider freely of the Government; whom it behoves to have all things repreſented to them that may direct thir judgment therin; and I never read of any State, ſcarce of any tyrant grown ſo incurable as to refuſe counſel from

any in a time of public deliberation; much leſs to be offended. If thir abſolute determination be to enthrall us, before ſo long a Lent of Servitude, they may permitt us a little Shroving-time firſt, wherin to ſpeak freely, and take our leaves of Libertie. And becauſe in the former edition through haſte, many faults eſcap'd, and many books were ſuddenly diſperſd, ere the note to mend them could be ſent, I took the opportunitie from this occaſion to reviſe and somwhat to enlarge the whole diſcourſe, eſpecially that part which argues for a perpetual Senat. The treatiſe thus revis'd and enlarg'd, is as follows.

The Parliament of *England*, assisted by a great number of the people who appeerd and stuck to them faithfullest in defence of religion and thir civil liberties, judging kingship by long experience a government unnecessarie, burdensom and dangerous, justly and magnanimously abolishd it; turning regal bondage into a free Commonwealth, to the admiration and terrpur of our emulous neighbours. They took themselves not bound by the light of nature or religion, to any former covnant, from which the King himself by many forfeitures of a latter date or discoverie, and our own

own longer consideration ther-
on had more & more unbound
us, both to himself and his
posteritie; as hath bin ever the
justice and the prudence of all
wise nations that have ejected
tyrannie. They covnanted *to*
preserve the Kings person and
autoritie in the preservation of
the true religion and our liberties;
not in his endeavoring to bring
in upon our consciences a Po-
pish religion, upon our li-
berties thraldom, upon our
lives destruction, by his occa-
sioning, if not complotting,
as was after discoverd, the *Irish*
massacre, his fomenting and
arming the rebellion, his co-
vert leaguing with the rebels
against us, his refusing more

then ſeaven times, propoſitions moſt juſt and neceſſarie to the true religion and our liberties, tenderd him by the Parlament both of *England* and *Scotland*. They made not thir covnant concerning him with no difference between a king and a god, or promiſd him as *Job* did to the Almightie, *to truſt in him, though he ſlay us*: they underſtood that the ſolemn ingagemene, wherin we all forſwore kingſhip, was no more a breach of the covant, then the covnant was of the proteſtation before, but a faithful and prudent going on both in the words, well weighd, and in the true ſenſe of the covnant, *without reſpect*

of

of persons, when we could not serve two contrary maisters, God and the king, or the king and that more supreme law, sworn in the first place to maintain, our safetie and our libertie. They knew the people of *England* to be a free people, themselves the representers of that freedom; & although many were excluded, & as many fled (so they pretended) from tumults to *Oxford*, yet they were left a sufficient number to act in Parlament; therefor not bound by any statute of preceding Parlaments; but by the law of nature only, which is the only law of laws truly and properly to all mankinde fundamental; the beginning and

the end of all Government; to which no Parlament or people that will throughly reforme, but may and must have recourse; as they had and must yet have in church reformation (if they throughly intend it) to evangelic rules; not to eccleſiaſtical canons, though never ſo ancient, ſo ratifi'd and eſtabliſhd in the land by Statutes, which for the moſt part are meer poſitive laws, neither natural nor moral, & ſo by any Parlament for juſt and ſerious conſiderations, without ſcruple to be at any time repeal'd. If others of thir number, in theſe things were under force, they were not, but under free conſcience; if others were ex-

excluded by a power which they could not reſiſt, they were not therefore to leave the helm of government in no hands, to diſcontinue thir care of the publie peace and ſafetie, to deſert the people in anarchie and confuſion; no more then when ſo many of thir members left them, as made up in outward formalitie a more legal Parlament of three eſtates againſt them. The beſt affected alſo and beſt principl'd of the people, ſtood not numbring or computing on which ſide were moſt voices in Parlament, but on which ſide appeerd to them moſt reaſon, moſt ſafetie, when the houſe divided upon main

main matters: what was well motiond and adviſ'd, they examind not whether fear or perſwaſion carried it in the vote; neither did they meaſure votes and counſels by the intentions of them that voted; knowing that intentions either are but gueſſd at, or not ſoon anough known; and although good, can neither make the deed ſuch, nor prevent the conſequence from being bad: ſuppoſe bad intentions in things otherwiſe welldon; what was welldon, was by them who ſo thought, not the leſs obey'd or followd in the ſtate; ſince in the church, who had not rather follow *Iſcariot* or *Simon* the magician, though

though to covetous ends; preaching, then *Saul*, though in the uprightneſs of his heart perſecuting the goſpell? Safer they therefor judgd what they thought the better counſels, though carried on by ſome perhaps to bad ends, then the wors, by others, though endevord with beſt intentions: and yet they were not to learn that a greater number might be corrupt within the walls of a Parlament as well as of a citie; wherof in matters of neereſt concernment all men will be judges; nor eaſily permitt, that the odds of voices in thir greateſt councel, ſhall more endanger them by corrupt or credulous votes, then the

the odds of enemies by open assaults; judging that most voices ought not alwaies to prevail where main matters are in question; if others hence will pretend to disturb all counsels, what is that to them who pretend not, but are in real danger; not they only so judging, but a great though not the greatest, number of thir chosen Patriots, who might be more in waight, then the others in number; there being in number little vertue, but by weight and measure wisdom working all things: and the dangers on either side they seriously thus waighd: from the treatie, short fruits of long labours and seaven years

years warr; securitie for twenty years, if we can hold it; reformation in the church for three years: then put to shift again with our vanquisht maister. His justice, his honour, his conscience declar'd quite contrarie to ours; which would have furnisht him with many such evasions, as in a book entitl'd *an inquisition for blood*, soon after were not conceald: bishops not totally remov'd, but left as it were in ambush, a reserve, with ordination in thir sole power; thir lands alreadie sold, not to be alienated, but rented, and the sale of them call'd *sacrilege*; delinquents few of many brought to condigne punishment;

ment; acceſſories puniſhd; the chief author, above pardon, though after utmoſt reſiſtance, vanquiſh'd; not to give, but to receive laws; yet beſought, treated with, and to be thankd for his gratious conceſſions, to be honourd, worſhipd, glorifi'd. If this we ſwore to do, with what righteouſneſs in the ſight of God, with what aſſurance that we bring not by ſuch an oath the whole ſea of blood-guiltineſs upon our own heads? If on the other ſide we preferr a free government, though for the preſent not obtaind, yet all thoſe ſuggeſted fears and difficulties, as the event will prove, eaſily over-

overcome, we remain finally ſecure from the exaſperated regal power, and out of ſnares; ſhall retain the beſt part of our libertie, which is our religion, and the civil part will be from theſe who deferr us, much more eaſily recoverd, being neither ſo ſuttle nor ſo aweſull as a King reinthron'd. Nor were thir actions leſs both at home and abroad then might become the hopes of a glorious riſing Commonwealth: nor were the expreſſions both of armie and people, whether in thir publick declarations or ſeveral writings other then ſuch as teſtifi'd a ſpirit in this nation no leſs noble and well fitted to the liberty of a Commonwealth,

monwealth, then in the ancient *Greeks* or *Romans*. Nor was the heroic cauſe unſucceſsfully defended to all Chriſtendom againſt the tongue of a famous and thought invincible adverſarie; nor the conſtancie and fortitude that ſo nobly vindicated our liberty, our victory at once againſt two the moſt prevailing uſurpers over mankinde, ſuperſtition and tyrannie unpraiſd or uncelebrated in a written monument, likely to outlive detraction, as it hath hitherto covinc'd or filenc'd not a few of our detractors, eſpecially in parts abroad. After our liberty and religion thus proſperouſly fought for, gaind and

and many years poſſeſſd, except in thoſe unhappie interruptions, which God hath remov'd, now that nothing remains, but in all reaſon the certain hopes of a ſpeedie and immediat ſettlement for ever in a firm and free Commonwealth, for this extolld and magnifi'd nation, regardleſs both of honour won or deliverances voutſaf't from heaven, to fall back or rather to creep back ſo poorly as it ſeems the multitude would to thir once abjur'd and deteſted thraldom of Kingſhip, to be our ſelves the ſlanderers of our own juſt and religious deeds, though don by ſom to covetous and ambitious ends,

yet

yet not therefor to be ſtaind with their infamie, or they to aſperſe the integritie of others, and yet theſe now by revolting from the conſcience of deeds welldon both in church and ſtate, to throw away and forſake, or rather to betray a juſt and noble cauſe for the mixture of bad men who have ill manag'd and abuſ'd it (which had our fathers don heretofore, and on the ſame pretence deſerted true religion, what had long ere this become of our goſpel and all proteſtant reformation ſo much intermixt with the avarice and ambition of ſom reformers?) and by thus relapſing, to verifie all the bitter

bitter predictions of our triumphing enemies, who will now think they wisely discernd and justly censur'd both us and all our actions as rash, rebellious, hypocritical and impious, not only argues a strange degenerate contagion suddenly spread among us fitted and prepar'd for new slaverie, but will render us a scorn and derision to all our neighbours. And what will they at best say of us and of the whole *English* name, but scoffingly as of that foolish builder, mentiond by our Saviour, who began to build a tower, and was not able to finish it. Where is this goodly tower of a Commonwealth, which the English boasted they

they would build to overshaddow kings, and be another *Rome* in the west? The foundation indeed they laid gallantly; but fell into a wors confusion, not of tongues, but of factions, then those at the tower of *Babel*; and have left no memorial of thir work behinde them remaining, but in the common laughter of *Europ*. Which must needs redound the more to our shame, if we but look on our neighbours the United Provinces; to us inferior in all outward advantages; who notwithstanding, in the midst of greater difficulties, courageously, wisely, constantly went through with the same work,

and

and are ſetl'd in all the happie enjoiments of a potent and flouriſhing Republic to this day.

Beſides this, if we returne to Kingſhip, and ſoon repent, as undoubtedly we ſhall, when we begin to finde the old encroachments coming on by little and little upon our conſciences, which muſt neceſſarily proceed from king and biſhop united inſeparably in one intereſt, we may be forc'd perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought, and ſpend over again all that we have ſpent, but are never like to attain thus far as we are now advanc'd to the recoverie of our freedom, never to have

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it in poſſeſſion as we now have it, never to be voutſaf't heer-after the like mercies and ſig-nal aſſiſtances from heaven in our cauſe, if by our ingrate-full backſliding we make theſe fruitleſs; flying now to regal conceſſions from his divine condeſcenſions and gratious anſwers to our once import-uning praiers againſt the tyran-nie which we then groand un-der: making vain and viler then dirt the blood of ſo many thouſand faithfull and valiant *Engliſh* men, who left us in this libertie, bought with thir lives; loſing by a ſtrange after game of folly, all the battels we have wonn, together with all *Scotland* as to our conqueſt, hereby

hereby loſt, which never any of our kings could conquer; all the treaſure we have ſpent, not that corruptible treaſure only, but that far more precious of all our late miraculous deliverances; treading back again with loſt labour all our happie ſteps in the progreſs of reformation; and moſt pittifully depriving our ſelves the inſtant fruition of that free government which we have ſo dearly purchaſd, a free Commonwealth, not only held by wiſeſt men in all ages the nobleſt, the manlieſt, the equalleſt, the juſteſt government, the moſt agreeable to all due libertie and proportiond equalitie, both human, civil, and

Christian, most cherishing to vertue and true religion, but also (I may say it with greatest probabilitie) planely commended, or rather enjoind by our Saviour himself, to all Christians, not without remarkable disallowance, and the brand of *gentilism* upon kingship. God in much displeasure gave a king to the *Israelites*, and imputed it a sin to them that they sought one: but *Christ* apparently forbids his disciples to admitt of any such heathenish government: *the kings of the gentiles*, saith he, *exercise lordship over them*; and they that *exercise autheritie upon them, are call'd benefactors: but ye shall not be so; but he that*

is greateſt among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that ſerveth. The occaſion of theſe his words was the ambitious deſire of *Zebede's* two ſons, to be exalted above thir brethren in his kingdom, which they thought was to be ere long upon earth. That he ſpeaks of civil government, is manifeſt by the former part of the compariſon, which inferrs the other part to be alwaies in the ſame kinde. And what government comes neerer to this precept of Chriſt, then a free Commonwealth; wherin they who are greateſt, are perpetual ſervants and drudges to the public at thir own coſt and

charges, neglect thir own affairs; yet are not elevated above thir brethren; live ſoberly in thir families, walk the ſtreets as other men, may be ſpoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without adoration. Wheras a king muſt be ador'd like a Demigod, with a diſſolute and haughtie court about him, of vaſt expence and luxurie, masks and revels, to the debauſhing of our prime gentry both male and female; not in thir paſſetimes only, but in earneſt, by the loos imploiments of court ſervice, which will be then thought honorable. There will be a queen alſo of no leſs charge; in moſt likelihood outlandiſh

and

and a Papiſt; beſides a queen mother ſuch alreadie; together with both thir courts and numerous train: then a royal iſſue, and ere long ſeverally thir ſumptuous courts; to the multiplying of a ſervile crew, not of ſervants only, but of nobility and gentry, bred up then to the hopes not of public, but of court offices; to be ſtewards, chamberlains, uſhers, grooms, even of the cloſe-ſtool; and the lower thir mindes debas'd with court opinions, contrarie to all vertue and reformation, the haughtier will be thir pride and profuſeneſs: we may well remember this not long ſince at home; or need but

look at preſent into the *French* court, where entice-ments and preferments daily draw away and pervert the Proteſtant Nobilitie. As to the burden of expence, to our coſt we ſhall ſoon know it; for any good to us, deſer-ving to be termd no better then the vaſt and laviſh price of our ſubjection and their debauſherie; which we are now ſo greedily cheapning, and would ſo fain be paying moſt inconſideratly to a ſingle perſon; who for any thing wherin the public really needs him, will have little els to do, but to beſtow the eating and drinking of exceſſive dainties, to ſet a pompous face

face upon the superficial actings of State, to pageant himself up and down in progress among the perpetual bowings and cringings of an abject people, on either side deifying and adoring him for nothing don that can deserve it. For what can hee more then another man? who even in the expression of a late court-poet, sits only like a great cypher set to no purpose before a long row of other significant figures. Nay it is well and happy for the people if thir King be but a cypher, being oft times a mischief, a pest, a scourge of the nation, and which is wors, not to be remov'd, not

to be controul'd, much leſs accus'd or brought to puniſhment, without the danger of a common ruin, without the ſhaking and almoſt ſubverſion of the whole land. Wheras in a free Commonwealth, any governor or chief counſelor offending, may be remov'd and puniſhd without the leaſt commotion. Certainly then that people muſt needs be madd or ſtrangely infatuated, that build the chief hope of thir common happineſs or ſafetie on a ſingle perſon: who if he happen to be good, can do no more then another man, if to be bad, hath in his hands to do more evil without check, then millions of other men.

men. The happineſs of a nation muſt nee s be firmeſt and certainſt in a full and free Councel of thir own electing, where no ſingle perſon, but reaſon only ſwaies. And what madneſs is it, for them who might manage nobly thir own affairs themſelves, ſluggiſhly and weakly to devolve all on a ſingle perſon; and more like boyes under age then men, to committ all to his patronage and diſpoſal, who neither can performe what he undertakes, and yet for undertaking it, though royally paid, will not be thir ſervant, but thir lord: how unmanly muſt it needs be, to count ſuch

a one the breath of our noſtrils, to hang all our felicity on him, all our ſafetie, our well-being, for which if we were aught els but ſluggards or babies, we need depend on none but God and our own counſels, our own active vertue and induſtrie; *Go to the Ant, thou ſluggard,* ſaith *Solomon*; *conſider her waies, and be wiſe*; *which having no prince, ruler, or lord, provides her meat in the ſummer, and gathers her food in the harveſt.* which evidenly ſhews us, that they who think the nation undon without a king, though they look grave or haughtie, have not ſo much true ſpirit and underſtanding in them

as

as a piſmire : neither are theſe diligent creatures hence concluded to live in lawleſs anarchie, or that commended, but are ſet the examples to imprudent and ungovernd men, of a frugal and ſelf-governing democratie or Commonwealth ; ſafer and more thriving in the joint providence and counſel of many induſtrious equals, then under the ſingle domination of one imperious Lord. It may be well wonderd that any Nation ſtyling themſelves free, can ſuffer any man to pretend hereditarie right over them as thir lord ; when as by acknowledging that right, they conclude themſelves his

ſervants

ſervants and his vaſſals, and ſo renounce thir own freedom. Which how a people and thir leaders eſpecially can do, who have fought ſo glorioufly for liberty; how they can change thir noble words and actions, heretofore ſo becoming the majeſty of a free people, into the baſe neceſſitie of court flatteries and proſtrations, is not only ſtrange and admirable, but lamentable to think on. That a nation ſhould be ſo valorous and courageous to winn thir liberty in the field, and when they have wonn it, ſhould be ſo heartleſs and unwiſe in thir counſels, as not to know how to uſe it, value it, what to do with it

or with themſelves; but after ten or twelve years proſperous warr and conteſtation with tyrannie, baſely and beſottedly to run their necks again into the yoke which they have broken, and proſtrate all the fruits of thir victorie for naught at the feet of the vanquiſhd, beſides our loſs of glorie, and ſuch an example as kings or tyrants never yet had the like to boaſt of, will be an ignomine if it befall us, that never yet befell any nation poſſeſsd of thir libertie; worthie indeed themſelves, whatſoever they be, to be for ever ſlaves: but that part of the nation which conſents not with them, as I perſwade me

of

of a great number, far worthier then by their means to be brought into the ſame bondage. Conſidering theſe things ſo plane, ſo rational, I cannot but yet furder admire on the other ſide, how any man who hath the true principles of juſtice and religion in him, can preſume or take upon him to be a king and lord over his brethren, whom he cannot but know whether as men or Chriſtians, to be for the moſt part every way equal or ſuperior to himſelf: how he can diſplay with ſuch vanitie and oſtentation his regal ſplendor ſo ſupereminently above other mortal men; or being a Chriſtian, can aſ-

ſume

ſume ſuch extraordinarie honour and worſhip to himſelf, while the kingdom of Chriſt our common King and Lord, is hid to this world, and ſuch *gentiliſh* imitation forbid in expreſs words by himſelf to all his diſciples. All Proteſtants hold that Chriſt in his church hath left no vicegerent of his power, but himſelf without deputie, is the only head therof, governing it from heaven: how then can any Chriſtian man derive his kingſhip from Chriſt, but with wors uſurpation then the Pope his headſhip over the church, ſince Chriſt not only hath not left the leaſt ſhaddow of a command for any ſuch vicegerence

gerence from him in the State, as the Pope pretends for his in the Church, but hath expreſsly declar'd, that ſuch regal dominion is from the gentiles, not from him, and hath ſtrictly charg'd us, not to imitate them therin.

I doubt not but all ingenuous and knowing men will eaſily agree with me, that a free Commonwealth without ſingle perſon or houſe of lords, is by far the beſt government, if it can be had; but we have all this while ſay they bin expecting it, and cannot yet attain it. Tis true indeed, when monarchie was diſſolvd, the form of a Commonwealth ſhould have forthwith bin fram'd; and the practice

practice therof immediatly begun; that the people might have soon bin satisfi'd and delighted with the decent order, ease and benefit therof: we had bin then by this time firmly rooted past fear of commotions or mutations, & now flouriſhing: this care of timely ſetling a new government inſtead of ye old, too much neglected, hath bin our miſchief. Yet the cauſe therof may be aſcrib'd with moſt reaſon to the frequent diſturbances, interruptions and diſſolutions which the Parlament hath had part y from the impatient or diſaffected people, partly from ſom ambitious leaders in the Armie; much contrarie, I beleeve, to the mind and

approbation of the Armie it ſelf and thir other Commanders, once undeceivd, or in thir own power. Now is the opportunitie, now the very ſeaſon wherein we may obtain a free Commonwealth and eſtabliſh it for ever in the land, without difficulty or much delay. Writs are ſent out for elections, and which is worth obſerving in the name, not of any king, but of the keepers of our libertie, to ſummon a free Parlament: which then only will indeed be free, and deſerve the true honor of that ſupreme title, if they preſerve us a free people. Which never Parlament was more free to do; being now call'd, not as here-

tofore,

tofore, by the ſummons of a king, but by the voice of libertie: and if the people, laying aſide prejudice and impatience, will ſeriouſly and calmly now conſider thir own good both religious and civil, thir own libertie and the only means thereof, as ſhall be heer laid before them, and will elect thir Knights and Burgeſſes able men, and according to the juſt and neceſſarie qualifications (which for aught I hear, remain yet in force unrepeald, as they were formerly decreed in Parlament) men not addicted to a ſingle perſon or houſe of lords, the work is don; at leaſt the foundation firmly laid of a free Common-

wealth,

wealth, and good part alſo erected of the main ſtructure. For the ground and baſis of every juſt and free government (ſince men have ſmarted ſo oft for commiting all to one perſon) is a general councel of ableſt men, choſen by the people to conſult of public affairs from time to time for the common good. In this Grand Councel muſt the ſovrantie, not transferrd, but delegated only, and as it were depoſited, reſide; with this caution they muſt have the forces by ſea and land committed to them for preſervation of the common peace and libertie; muſt raiſe and manage the public revenue, at leaſt with ſom in-

ſpectors

ſpectors deputed for ſatisfaction of the people, how it is imploid; muſt make or propoſe, as more expreſsly ſhall be ſaid anon, civil laws; treat of commerce, peace, or warr with forein nations, and for the carrying on ſom particular affairs with more ſecrecie and expedition, muſt elect, as they have alreadie out of thir own number and others, a Councel of State.

And although it may ſeem ſtrange at firſt hearing, by reaſon that mens mindes are prepoſſed with the notion of ſucceſſive Parlaments, I affirme that the Grand or General Councel being well choſen, ſhould be perpetual: for ſo thir

thir bufineſs is or may be, and oft times urgent; the opportunitie of affairs gaind or loſt in a moment. The day of counſel cannot be ſet as the day of a feſtival; but muſt be readie alwaies to prevent or anſwer all occaſions. By this continuance they will become everie way skilfulleſt, beſt provided of intelligence from abroad, beſt acquainted with the people at home, and the people with them. The ſhip of the Commonwealth is alwaies under ſail; they ſit at the ſtern; and if they ſtear well, what need is ther to change them; it being rather dangerous? Add to this, that the Grand Councel is both

foun-

foundation and main pillar of the whole State; and to move pillars and foundations, not faultie, cannot be safe for the building. I see not therefor, how we can be advantag'd by successive and transitorie Parlaments; but that they are much likelier continually to unsettle rather then to settle a freegovernment; to breed commotions, changes, novelties and uncertainties; to bring neglect upon present affairs and opportunities, while all mindes are suspense with expectation of a new assemblie, and the assemblie for a good space taken up with the new setling of it self. After which, if they finde no great work to do,

they

they will make it, by altering or repealing former acts, or making and multiplying new; that they may ſeem to ſee what thir predeceſſors ſaw not, and not to have aſſembld for nothing: till all law be loſt in the multitude of claſhing ſtatutes. But if the ambition of ſuch as think themſelves injur'd that they alſo partake not of the government, and are impatient till they be choſen, cannot brook the perpetuitie of others choſen before them, or if it be feard that long continuance of power may corrupt ſincereſt men, the known expedient is, and by ſom lately propounded, that annually (or if the ſpace be longer,

ger, ſo much perhaps the better) the third part of Senators may go out according to the precedence of thir election, and the like number be choſen in thir places, to prevent the ſetling of too abſolute a power, if it ſhould be perpetual: and this they call *partial rotation*. But I could wiſh that this wheel or partial wheel in State, if it be poſſible, might be avoided; as having too much affinitie with the wheel of fortune. For it appeers not how this can be don, without danger and miſchance of putting out a great number of the beſt and ableſt: in whoſe ſtead new elections may bring in

as many raw, unexperienc'd and otherwise affected, to the weakning and much altering for the wors of public transactions. Neither do I think a perpetual Senat, especially chosen and entrusted by the people, much in this land to be feard, where the well-affected either in a standing armie, or in a setled militia have thir arms in thir own hands. Safest therefor to me it seems and of least hazard or interruption to affairs, that none of the Grand Councel be mov'd, unless by death or just conviction of som crime: for what can be expected firm or stedfast from a floating foundation? however, I forejudge not

not any probable expedient, any temperament that can be found in things of this nature so disputable on either side. Yet least this which I affirme, be thought my single opinion, I shall add sufficient testimonie. Kingship it self is therefor counted the more safe and durable, because the king and, for the most part, his councel, is not chang'd during life: but a Commonwealth is held immortal; and therin firmest, safest and most above fortune: for the death of a king, causeth ofttimes many dangerous alterations; but the death now and then of a Senator is not felt; the main bodie of them still continuing perma-

nent in greatest and noblest Common-wealths, and as it were eternal. Therefor among the *Jews*, the supreme councel of seaventie, call'd the *Sanhedrim*, founded by *Moses*, in *Athens*, that of *Areopagus*, in *Sparta*, that of the Ancients, in *Rome*, the Senat, consisted of members chosen for term of life; and by that means remaind as it were still the same to generations. In *Venice* they change indeed ofter then every year som particular councels of State, as that of six, or such other; but the true Senat, which upholds and sustains the government, is the whole aristocracie immovable. So in the United Provinces, the States

States General, which are indeed but a councel of ſt te deputed by the whole union, are not uſually the ſame perſons for above three or ſix years; but the States of every citie, in whom the ſovrantie hath bin plac'd time out of minde, are a ſtanding Senat, without ſucceſſion, and accounted chiefly in that regard the main prop of thir liberty. And why they ſhould be ſo in every well orderd Commonwealth, they who write of policie, give theſe reaſons; "That to make the Senat "ſucceſſive, not only impairs "the dignitie and luſtre of the "Senat, but weakens the "whole Commonwealth, and

"brings it into manifeſt dan-
"ger; while by this means
"the ſecrets of State are fre-
"quently divulgd, and mat-
"ters of greateſt conſequence
"committed to inexpert and
"novice counſelors, utterly
"to ſeek in the full and inti-
"mate knowledge of affairs
"paſt. I know not therefor
what ſhould be peculiar in
England to make ſucceſſive
Parlaments thought ſafeſt, or
convenient here more then in
other nations, unleſs it be the
fickl'aeſs which is attributed
to us as we are Ilanders:
but good education and acqui-
ſit wiſdom ought to correct
the fluxible fault, if any ſuch
be, of our watry ſituation. It
will

will be objected, that in those places where they had perpetual Senats, they had also popular remedies against thir growing too imperious: as in *Athens*, besides *Areopagus*, another Senat of four or five hunderd; in *Sparta*, the *Ephori*; in *Rome*, the Tribunes of the people. But the event tels us, that these remedies either little availd the people, or brought them to such a licentious and unbridl'd democratie, as in fine ruind themselves with thir own excessive power. So that the main reason urg'd why popular assemblies are to be trusted with the peoples libertie, rather then a Senat of principal men, because

great men will be still endeavoring to inlarge thir power, but the common sort will be contented to maintain thir own libertie, is by experience found false; none being more immoderat and ambitious to amplifie thir power, then such popularities; which was seen in the people of *Rome*; who at first contented to have thir Tribunes, at length contended with the Senat that one Consul, then both; soon after, that the Censors and Prætors also should be created Plebeian, and the whole empire put into their hands; adoring lastly those, who most were advers to the Senat, till *Marius* by fulfilling thir inordinat

dinat desires, quite lost them all the power for which they had so long bin striving, and left them under the tyrannie of *Sylla*: the ballance therefor must be exactly so set, as to preserve and keep up due autoritie on either side, as well in the Senat as in the people. And this annual rotation of a Senat to consist of three hunderd, as is lately propounded, requires also another popular assembly upward of a thousand, with an answerable rotation. Which besides that it will be liable to all those inconveniencies found in the foresaid remedies, cannot but be troublesom and chargeable, both in thir motion and thir session, to the whole land; unweildie with

thir own bulk, unable in so great a number to mature thir consultations as they ought, if any be allotted them, and that they meet not from so many parts remote to sit a whole year lieger in one place, only now and then to hold up a forrest of fingers, or to convey each man his bean or ballot into the box, without reason shewn or common deliberation; incontinent of secrets, if any be imparted to them, emulous and always jarring with the other Senat. The much better way doubtless will be in this wavering condition of our affairs, to deferr the changing or circumscribing of our Senat, more then may be done with ease,

till

till the Commonwealth be throughly setl'd in peace and safetie, and they themselves give us the occasion. Militarie men hold it dangerous to change the form of battel in view of an enemie: neither did the people of *Rome* bindie with thir Senat while any of the *Tarquins* livd, the enemies of thir libertie, nor sought by creating Tribunes to defend themselves against the fear of thir Patricians, till sixteen years after the expulsion of thir kings, and in full securitie of thir state, they had or thought they had just cause given them by the Senat. Another way will be, to wel-qualifie and refine elections:

not

not committing all to the noise and shouting of a rude multitude, but permitting only those of them who are rightly qualifi'd, to nominat as many as they will; and out of that number others of a better breeding, to chuse a less number more judiciously, till after a third or fourth sifting and refining of exactest choice, they only be left chosen who are the due number, and seem by most voices the worthiest. To make the people fittest to chuse, and the chosen fittest to govern, will be to mend our corrupt and faulty education, to teach the people faith not without vertue, temperance, modestie, sobrietie, parsi-

monie,

monie, justice; not to admire wealth or honour; to hate turbulence and ambition; to place every one his privat welfare and happiness in the public peace, libertie and safetie. They shall not then need to be much mistrustfull of thir chosen Patriots in the Grand Councel; who will be then rightly call'd the true keepers of our libertie, though the most of thir business will be in forein affairs. But to prevent all mistrust, the people then will have thir several ordinarie assemblies (which will henceforth quite annihilate the odious power and name of Committies) in the chief towns of every countie, without the

trouble,

trouble, charge, or time loſt of ſummoning and aſſembling from far in ſo great a number, and ſo long reſiding from thir own houſes, or removing of thir families, to do as much at home in thir ſeveral ſhires, entire or ſubdivided, toward the ſecuring of thir libertie, as a numerous aſſembly of them all formd and conven'd on purpoſe with the warieſt rotation. Wherof I ſhall ſpeak more ere the end of this diſcourſe: for it may be referrd to time, ſo we be ſtill going on by degrees to perfection. The people well weighing and performing theſe things, I ſuppoſe would have no cauſe to fear, theugh the *Parlament*, aboliſh-

abolishing that name, as originally signifying but the *parlie* of our Lords and Commons with thir *Norman* king when he pleasd to call them, should, with certain limitations of thir power, sit perpetual, if thir ends be faithfull and for a free Commonwealth, under the name of a Grand or General Councel. Till this be don, I am in doubt whether our State will be ever certainly and throughly setl'd; never likely till then to see an end of our troubles and continual changes or at least never the true settlement and assurance of our libertie. The Grand Councel being thus firmly constituted to perpetuitie, and still, upon the

the death or default of any member, suppli'd and kept in full number, ther can be no cause alleag'd why peace, justice, plentifull trade and all prosperitie should not thereupon ensue throughout the whole land; with as much assurance as can be of human things, that they shall so continue (if God favour us, and our wilfull sins provoke him not) even to the coming of our true and rightfull and only to be expected King, only worthie as he is our only Saviour, the Messiah, the Christ, the only heir of his eternal father, the only by him anointed and ordaind since the work of our redemption finishd,

Vniver-

Vniversal Lord of all mankinde. The way propounded is plane, easie and open before us; without intricacies, without the introducement of new or obsolete forms, or terms, or exotic models, idea's that would effect nothing, but with a number of new injunctions to manacle the native liberty of mankinde; turning all vertue into prescription, servitude, and necessitie, to the great impairing and frustrating of Christian liberties! I say again, this way lies free and smooth before us; is not tangl'd with inconveniencies; invents no new incumbrances; requires no perilous, no injurious alteration or circumscription

ſcription of mens lands and proprieties; ſecure, that in this Commonwealth, temporal and ſpiritual lords remov'd, no man or number of men can attain to ſuch wealth or vaſt poſſeſſion, as will need the hedge of an Agrarian law (never ſucceſful, but the cauſe rather of ſedition, ſave only where it began ſeaſonably with firſt poſſeſſion) to confine them from endangering our public libertie; to conclude, it can have no conſiderable objection made againſt it, that it is not practicable: leaſt it be ſaid hereafter, that we gave up our libertie for want of a readie way or diſtinct form propos'd of a free Com-

Commonwealth. And this facilitie we ſhall have above our next neighbouring Commonwealth (if we can keep us from the fond conceit of ſomthing like a duke of *Venice*, put lately into many mens heads, by ſom one or other ſutly driving on under that notion his own ambitious ends to lurch a crown) that our liberty ſhall not be hamperd or hovered over by any ingagement to ſuch a potent familie as the houſe of *Naſſaw* of whom to ſtand in perpetual doubt and ſuſpicion, but we ſhall live the cleereſt and abſoluteſt free nation in the world.

On the contrarie, if ther be a king, which the inconſiderate

ſiderate multitude are now ſo madd upon, mark how far ſhort we are like to com of all thoſe happineſſes, which in a free ſtate we ſhall immediatly be poſſeſſd of. Firſt, the Grand Councel, which, as I ſhewd before, ſhould ſit perpetuallly (unleſs thir leiſure give them now and then ſom intermiſſions or vacations, eaſilie manageable by the Councel of State left ſitting) ſhall be call'd, by the kings good will and utmoſt endeavor, as ſeldom as may be. For it is only the king's right, he will ſay, to call a parlament; and this he will do moſt commonly about his own affairs rather then the kingdom's, as will ap-

appeer planely ſo ſoon as they are call'd. For what will thir buſineſs then be and the chief expence of thir time, but an endleſs tugging between petition of right and and royal prerogative, eſpecially about the negative voice, militia, or ſubſidies, demanded and oft times extorted without reaſonable cauſe appeering to the Commons, who are the only true repreſentatives of the people, and thir libertie, but will be then mingl'd with a court-faction; beſides which within thir own walls, the ſincere part of them who ſtand faithfull to the people, will again have to deal with two troubleſom counter-working ad-

adverſaries from without, meer creatures of the king, ſpiritual, and the greater part, as is likelieſt, of temporal lords, nothing concernd with the peoples libertie. If theſe prevail not in what they pleaſe, though never ſo much againſt the peoples intereſt, the Parlament ſhall be ſoon diſſolvd, or ſit and do nothing; not ſufferd to remedie the leaſt greevance, or enact aught advantageous to the people. Next, the Councel of State ſhall not be choſen by the Parlament, but by the king, ſtill his own creatures, courtiers and favorites; who will be ſure in all thir counſels to ſet thir maiſter's grandure and abſolute power

power, in what they are able, far above the peoples libertie. I denie not but that ther may be such a king, who may regard the common good before his own, may have no vitious favorite, may hearken only to the wisest and incorruptest of his Parlament: but this rarely happens in a monarchie not elective; and it behoves not a wise nation to committ the summ of thir welbeing, the whole state of thir safetie to fortune. What need they; and how absurd would it be, when as they themselves to whom his chief vertue will be but to hearken, may with much better management and dispatch, with much more com-

commendation of thir own worth and magnanimitie govern without a maister. Can the folly be paralleld, to adore and be the slaves of a single person for doing that which it is ten thousand to one whether he can or will do, and we without him might do more easily, more effectually, more laudably our selves? Shall we never grow old anough to be wise to make seasonable use of graveſt autorities, experiences, examples? Is it such an unspeakable joy to serve, such felicitie to wear a yoke? to clink our shackles, lockt on by pretended law of subjection more intolerable and hopeless to be ever shaken off, then those

thoſe which are knockt on by illegal injurie and violence? *Ariſtotle*, our chief inſtructer in the Univerſities, leaſt this doctrine be thought *Sectarian*, as the royaliſt would have it thought, tels us in the third of his Politics, that certain men at firſt, for the matchleſs excellence of thir vertue above others, or ſom great public benifit, were created kings by the people; in ſmall cities and territories, and in the ſcarcitie of others to be found like them: but when they abuſ'd thir power and governments grew larger, and the number of prudent men increaſd, that then the people ſoon depoſing thir tyrants, betook them, in

all civileſt places, to the form
of a free Commonwealth. And
why ſhould we thus diſparage
and prejudicate our own nati-
on, as to fear a ſcarcitie o
able and worthie men unite
in counſel to govern us, if we
will but uſe diligence and im-
partiality to finde them out and
chuſe them, rather yoking
our ſelves to a ſingle perſon,
the natural adverſarie and op-
preſſor of libertie, though
good, yet far eaſier corrupt-
ible by the exceſs of his ſingu-
lar power and exaltation, or
at beſt, not comparably ſuffi-
cient to bear the weight of go-
vernment, nor equally diſ-
pos'd to make us happie in the
enjoyment of our libertie un-
der him. But

But admitt, that monarchie of it self may be convenient to som nations; yet to us who have thrown it out, receivd back again, it cannot but prove pernicious. For kings to com, never forgetting thir former ejection, will be sure to fortifie and arm themselves sufficiently for the future against all such attempts hereafter from the people: who shall be then so narrowly watchd and kept so low, that though they would never so fain and at the same rate of thir blood and treasure, they never shall be able to regain what they now have purchasd and may enjoy, or to free themselves from any yoke impos'd

upon them: nor will they dare to go about it; utterly dishearten'd for the future, if these thir highest attempts prove unsuccesful; which will be the triumph of all tyrants heerafter over any people that shall resist oppression; and thir song will then be, to others, how sped the rebellious *English*? to our posteritie, how sped the rebells your fathers? This is not my conjecture, but drawn from God's known denouncement against the gentilizing *Israelites*; who though they were governd in a Commonwealth of God's own ordaining, he only thir king, they his peculiar people, yet affecting rather to re-

reſemble heathen, but pretending the miſgovernment of *Samuel's* ſons, no more a reaſon to diſlike thir Commonwealth, then the violence of *Eli's* ſons was imputable to that prieſthood or religion, clamourd for a king. They had thir longing; but with this teſtimonie of God's wrath; *ye ſhall cry out in that day becauſe of your king whom ye ſhall have choſen, and the Lord will not hear you in that day.* Us if he ſhall hear now, how much leſs will he hear when we cry heereafter, who once deliverd by him from a king, and not without wondrous acts of his providence, inſenſible and unworthie of thoſe high mercies,

are returning precipitantly, if he withold us not, back to the captivitie from whence he freed us. Yet neither shall we obtain or buy at an easie rate this new guilded yoke which thus transports us: a new royal-revenue must be found, a new episcopal; for those are individual: both which being wholy dissipated or bought by privat persons or assign'd for service don, and especially to the Armie, cannot be recoverd without a general detriment and confusion to mens estates, or a heavie imposition on all mens purses; benifit to none, but to the worst and ignobleſt sort of men, whose hope is to be either the ministers

sters of court riot and excess, or the gainers by it: But not to speak more of losses and extraordinarie levies on our estates, what will then be the revenges and offences remembered and returnd, not only by the chief person, but by all his adherents; accounts and reparations that will be requird, suites, inditements, inquities, discoveries, complaints, informations, who knows against whom or how many, though perhaps neuters, if not to utmost infliction, yet to imprisonment, fines, banishment, or molestation; if not these, yet disfavor, discountnance, disregard and contempt on all but

the known royaliſt or whom he favors, will be plenteous: nor let the new royaliz'd preſbyterians perſwade themſelves that thir old doings, though now recanted, will be forgotten; what ever conditions be contriv'd or truſted on. Will they not beleeve this; nor remember the pacification, how it was kept to the *Scots*; how other ſolemn promiſes many a time to us? Let them but now read the diabolical forerunning libells, the faces, the geſtures that now appeer foremoſt and briskeſt in all public places; as the harbingers of thoſe that are in expectation to raign over us; let them but hear the inſolencies, the menaces,

ces, the insultings of our newly animated common enemies crept lately out of thir holes, thir hell, I might say, by the language of thir infernal pamphlets, the spue of every drunkard, every ribald, nameless, yet not for want of licence, but for very shame of thir own vile persons, not daring to name themselves, while they traduce others by name; and give us to foresee that they intend to second thir wicked words, if ever they have power, with more wicked deeds. Let our zealous backsliders forethink now with themselves, how thir necks yok'd with these tigers of Bacchus, these new

fanatics of not the preaching but the ſweating-tub, inſpir'd with nothing holier then the Venereal pox, can draw one way under monarchie to the eſtabliſhing of church diſcipline with theſe new-diſgorg'd atheiſmes: yet ſhall they not have the honor to yoke with theſe, but ſhall be yok'd under them; theſe ſhall plow on their backs. And do they among them who are ſo forward to bring in the ſingle perſon, think to be by him truſted or long regarded? So truſted they ſhall be and ſo regarded, as by kings are wont reconcil'd enemies; neglected and ſoon after diſcarded, if not proſecuted for

old

old traytors; the first inciters, beginners, and more then to the third part actors of all that followd; it will be found also, that there must be then as necessarily as now (for the contrarie part will be still feard) a standing armie; which for certain shall not be this, but of the fiercest Cavaliers, of no less expence, and perhaps again under *Rupert*: but let this armie be sure they shall be soon disbanded, and likelieſt without arrear of pay; and being disbanded, not be sure but they may as soon be questiond for being in arms against this king: the same let them fear, who have contributed monie; which

which will amount to no small number that must then take thir turn to be made delinquents and compounders. They who past reason, and recoverie are devoted to kingship, perhaps will answer, that a greater part by far of the Nation will have it so; the rest therefor must yield. Not so much to convince these, which I little hope, as to confirm them who yield not, I reply; that this greatest part have both in reason and the trial of just battel, lost the right of their election what the government shall be: of them who have not lost that right, whether they for kingship be the greater number, who

who can certainly determin : Suppose they be ; yet of freedom they partake all alike, one main end of govetnment : which if the greater part valne not, but will degenerally forgoe, is it juſt or reaſonable, that moſt voices againſt the the main end of government, ſhould enſlave the leſs number that would be free ? More juſt it is doubtleſs, if it com to force, that a leſs number compell a greater to retain, which can be no wrong to them, thir libertie, then that a greater number for the pleaſure of thir baſeneſs, compell a leſs moſt injuriouſly to be thir fellow ſlaves. They who ſeek nothing but thir own juſt libertie, have

alwaies

alwaies right to winn it and to keep it, when ever they have power, be the voices never so numerous that oppose it. And how much we above others are concernd to defend it from kingship, and from them who in pursuance therof so perniciously would betray us and themselves to most certain miserie and thraldom, will be needless to repeat.

Having thus far shewn with what ease we may now obtain a free Common wealth, and by it with as much ease all the freedom, peace, justice, plentie that we can desire, on the other side the difficulties, troubles, uncertainties, nay rather impossibilities to enjoy these

things

things constantly under a monarch, I will now proceed to shew more particularly wherin our freedom and flourishing condition will be more ample and secure to us under a free Commonwealth then under kingship.

The whole freedom of man consists either in spiritual or civil libertie. As for spiritual, who can be at rest, who can enjoy any thing in this world with contentment, who hath not libertie to serve God and to save his own soul, according to the best light which God hath planted in him to that purpose, by the reading of his reveal'd will and the guidance of his holy

holy ſpirit? That this is beſt pleaſing to God, and that the whole Proteſtant Church allows no ſupream judge or rule in matters of religion, but the ſcriptures; and theſe to be interpreted by the the ſcriptures themſelves, which neceſſarily inferrs liberty of conſcience, I have heretofore prov'd at large in another treatiſe, and might yet furder by the public declarations, confeſſions and admonitions of whole churches and ſtates, obvious in all hiſtories ſince the Reformation.

This liberty of conſcience which above all other things ought to be to all men dearer and moſt precious, no government more inclinable

not

not to favor only but to protect, then a free Commonwealth; as being most magnanimous, most fearless and confident of its own fair proceedings. Wheras kingship though looking big, yet indeed most pusillanimous, full of fears, full of jealousies, startl'd at every ombrage, as it hath bin observd of old to have ever suspected most and mistrusted them who were in most esteem for vertue and generositie of minde, so it is now known to have most in doubt and suspicion them who are most reputed to be religious. Queen *Elizabeth* though her self accounted so good a Protestant, so moderate, so

confident of her Subjects love would never give way so much as to Presbyterian rereformation in this land, though once and again befought, as *Camden* relates, but imprisond and persecuted the very proposers therof; alleaging it as her minde & maxim unalterable, that such reformation would diminish regal autoritie. What liberty of conscience can we then expect of others, far wors principl'd from the cradle, traind up and governd by *Popish* and *Spanish* counsels, and on such depending hitherto for subsistence? Especially what can this last Parlament expect, who having reviv'd lately and publishd

publiſhd the covnant, have re-ingag'd themſelves, never to readmitt Epiſcopacie: which no ſon of *Charls* returning, but will moſt certainly bring back with him, if he regard the laſt and ſtricteſt charge of his father, *to perſevere in not the doctrin only, but government of the church of* England; *not to neglect the ſpeedie and effectual ſuppreſſing of errors and ſchiſms*; among which he accounted Presbyterie one of the chief: or if notwitſtanding that charge of his father, he ſubmitt to the covnant, how will he keep faith to us with diſobedience to him, or regard that faith given, which muſt

be

be founded on the breach of that laſt and ſolemneſt paternal charge, and the reluctance, I may ſay the antipathie which is in all kings againſt Presbyterian and Independent diſcipline: for they hear the goſpel ſpeaking much of libertie; a word which monarchie and her biſhops both fear and hate, but a free Commonwealth both favors and promotes; and not the word only, but the thing it ſelf. But let our governors beware in time, leaſt thir hard meaſure to libertie of conſcience be found the rock wheron they ſhipwrack themſelves as others have now don before them in the cours wherin God was directing

recting thir ſtearage to a free Commonwealth; and the abandoning of all thoſe whom they call *ſectaries*, for the detected falſhood and ambition of ſom, be a wilfull rejection of thir own chief ſtrength and intereſt in the freedom of all Proteſtant religion, under what abuſive name ſoever calumniated.

The other part of our freedom conſiſts in the civil rights and advancements of every perſon according to his merit: the enjoyment of thoſe never more certain, and the acceſs to theſe never more open, then in a free Commonwealth. Both which in my opinion may be beſt and ſooneſt obtaind, if every

every countie in the land were made a kinde of subordinate Commonaltie or Commonwealth, and one chief town or more, according as the shire is in circuit, made cities, if they be not so call'd alreadie; where the nobilitie and chief gentry from a proportionable compas of territorie annexd to each citie, may build, houses or palaces, befitting thir qualitie, may bear part in the government, make thir own judicial laws, or use these that are, and execute them by thir own elected judicatures and judges without appeal, in all things of civil government between man and man, so they shall have justice in thir own

hands,

hands, law executed fully and finally in thir own counties and precincts, long wishd, and spoken of, but never yet obtaind; they shall have none then to blame but themselves, if it be not well administerd; and fewer laws to expect or fear from the supreme autoritie; or to those that shall be made, of any great concernment to public libertie, they may without much trouble in these commonalties or in more general assemblies call'd to thir cities from the whole territorie on such occasion, declare and publish thir assent or dissent by deputies within a time limited sent to the Grand Councel: yet so as this thir

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judgment declar'd shal submitt to the greater number of other counties or commonalties, and not avail them to any exemption of themselves, or refusal of agreement with the rest, as it may in any of the United Provinces, being sovran within it self, oft times to the great disadvantage of that union. In these imploiments they may much better then they do now, exercise and fit themselves, till thir lot fall to be chosen into the Grand Councel, according as thir worth and merit shall be taken notice of by the people. As for controversies that shall happen between men of several counties, they may repair,

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as they do now, to the capital citie, or any other more commodious, indifferent place and equal judges. And this I finde to have bin practiſd in the old *Athenian* Commonwealth, reputed the firſt and ancienteſt place of civilitie in all *Greece*; that they had in thir ſeveral cities, a peculiar; in *Athens*, a common government; and thir right, as it befell them, to the adminiſtration of both. They ſhould have heer alſo ſchools and academies at thir own choice, wherin thir children may be bred up in thir own ſight to all learning and noble education not in grammar only, but in all liberal arts and exerci-

ſes. This would ſoon ſpread much more knowledge and civilitie, yea religion through all parts of the land, by communicating the natural heat of government and culture more diſtributively to all extreme parts, which now lie numm and neglected, would ſoon make the whole nation more induſtrious, more ingenuous at home, more potent, more honorable abroad. To this a free Commonwealth will eaſily aſſent; (nay the Parlament hath had alreadie ſom ſuch thing in deſigne) for of all governments a Commonwealth aims moſt to make the people flouriſhing, vertuous, noble and high ſpirited.

rited. Monarchs will never permitt: whose aim is to make the people, wealthie indeed perhaps and well fleec't, for thir own shearing and the supplie of regal prodigalitie; but otherwise softest, basest, vitiousest, servilest, easiest to be kept under; and not only in fleece, but in minde also sheepishest; and will have all the benches of judicature annexd to the throne, as a gift of royal grace that we have justice don us; whenas nothing can be more essential to the freedom of a people, then to have the administration of justice and all public ornaments in thir own election and within thir own bounds, with-

out long travelling or depending on remote places to obtain thir right or any civil accomplishment; so it be not supreme, but subordinate to the general power and union of the whole Republic. In which happy firmness as in the particular above mentioned, we shall also far exceed the United Provinces, by having, not as they (to the retarding and distracting oft times of thir counsels or urgentest occasions) many Sovranties united in one Commonwealth, but many Commonwealths under one united and entrusted Sovrantie. And when we have our forces by sea and land, either of a faithful Armie

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or a setl'd Militia, in our own hands to the firm establishing of a free Commonwealth, publick accounts under our own inspection, general laws and taxes with thir causes in our own domestic suffrages, judicial laws, offices and ornaments at home in our own ordering and administration, all distinction of lords and commoners, that may any way divide or sever the publick interest, remov'd, what can a perpetual senat have then wherin to grow corrupt, wherin to encroach upon us or usurp; or if they do, wherin to be formidable? Yet if all this avail not to remove the fear or envie of a perpetual

fitting, it may be easilie provided, to change a third part of them yearly or every two or three years, as was above mentiond; or that it be at those times in the peoples choice, whether they will change them, or renew thir power, as they shall finde cause.

I have no more to say at present: few words will save us, well considerd; few and easie things, now seasonably don. But if the people be so affected, as to prostitute religion and libertie to the vain and groundless apprehension, that nothing but kingship can restore trade, not remembring the frequent plagues and pesti-

lences

lences that then wasted this citie, such as through God's mercie we never have felt since, and that trade flourishes no where more then in the free Commonwealths of *Italie*, *Germanie*, and the Low-Countries before thir eyes at this day, yet if trade be grown so craving and importunate through the profuse living of tradesmen, that nothing can support it, but the luxurious expences of a nation upon trifles or superfluities, so as if the people generally should betake themselves to frugalitie, it might prove a dangerous matter, least tradesmen should murinie for want of trading, and that therefor we must forgoe & set

to

to sale religion, libertie, honor, safetie; all concernments Divine or human to keep up trading, if lastly, after all this light among us, the same reason shall pass for current to put our necks again under kingship, as was made use of by the *Jews* to returne back to *Egypt* and to the worship of thir idol queen, becauſe they falſly imagind that they then livd in more plentie and prosperitie, our condition is not found but rotten, both in religion and all civil prudence; and will bring us soon, the way we are marching, to those calamities which attend alwaies and unavoidably on luxurie, all national judgments,

under forein or domestic slaverie: so far we shall be from mending our condition by monarchizing our government, whatever new conceit now possesses us. However with all hazard I have ventur'd what I thought my duty to speak in season, and to forewarne my countrey in time: wherin I doubt not but ther be many wise men in all places and degrees, but am sorrie the effects of wisdom are so little seen among us. Many circumstances and particulars I could have added in those things wherof I have spoken; but a few main matters now put speedily in execution, will suffice to recover us, and set all right: and ther

will

will want at no time who are good at circumſtances; but men who ſet thir mindes on main matters and ſufficiently urge them, in theſe moſt difficult times I finde not many. What I have ſpoken, is the language of that which is not call'd amiſs *the good Old Cauſe*: if it ſeem ſtrange to any, it will not ſeem more ſtrange, I hope, then convincing to backſliders. Thus much I ſhould perhaps have ſaid though I were ſure I ſhould have ſpoken only to trees and ſtones; and had none to cry to, but with the Prophet, *O earth, earth, earth!* to tell the very ſoil it ſelf, what her perverſe inhabitants are deaf

to.

to. Nay though what I have ſpoke, ſhould happ'n (which Thou ſuffer not, who didſt create mankinde free; nor Thou next, who didſt redeem us from being ſervants of men!) to be the laſt words of our expiring libertie. But I truſt I ſhall have ſpoken perſwaſion to abundance of ſenſible and ingenuous men: to ſom perhaps whom God may raiſe of theſe ſtones to become children of reviving libertie; and may reclaim, though they ſeem now chuſing them a captain back for *Egypt*, to bethink themſelves a little and conſider whether they are ruſhing; to exhort this torrent alſo of the people, not to be

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so impetuous, but to keep thir due channell; and at length recovering and uniting thir better resolutions, now that they see alreadie how open and unbounded the insolence and rage is of our common enemies, to stay these ruinous proceedings, justly and timely fearing to what a precipice of destruction the deluge of this epidemic madness would hurrie us through the general defection of a misguided and abus'd multitude.

The end.